

Message Text

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INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 65

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6361

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: AN OVERVIEW

1. SUMMARY: THE APPROACHING CHRISTMAS RECESS WILL MARK THE TRANSITION BETWEEN THE DEBATING AND DRAFTING STAGES OF CSCE. IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT THE DRAFTING STAGE, WHEN IT BEGINS IN JANUARY, WILL REQUIRE TWO OR THREE MONTHS AND THAT A REASONABLY ACCEPTABLE FINAL DOCUMENT CAN BE AGREED IN TIME FOR A FINAL STAGE, TO BE ATTENDED AT AN AS YET UNDERTIMED LEVEL, IN HELSINKI IN JUNE OR JULY.

THIS IS THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF MESSAGES WHICH WILL REVIEW THE PROGRESS OF CSCE TO DATE, IDENTIFY THE CENTRAL
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ISSUES, AND DRAW IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. POSITION DURING

THE DECISIVE STAGE WHICH LIES AHEAD. THIS MESSAGE ADDRESSES OVERALL CONSIDERATIONS; THE FOUR WHICH FOLLOW WILL ADDRESS THE SPECIFIC SUBJECT AREAS OF THE CONFERENCE. TAKEN TOGETHER, THEY ARE INTENDED TO SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR THE DELEGATION'S CONSULTATIONS OVER THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. END SUMMARY.

2. CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES. THE PROGRESS OF THE CONFERENCE SO FAR HAS TURNED ESSENTIALLY ON THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN OBJECTIVES. MOSCOW'S LONG-STANDING AIRMS FOR CSCE HAVE BEEN TO ACHIEVE THE MULTILATERAL RATIFICATION OF THE POSTWAR DIVISION OF EUROPE IN A DOCUMENT SIGNED IN A TRIUMPHANT CONFERENCE FINALE BY 35 HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, AND TO INSTITUTIONALIZE A CONTINUING SOVIET VOICE IN ALL-EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF FOLLOW-ON POLITICAL MACHINERY. THE WEST HAS SOUGHT TO CONTAIN THE FIRST OF THESE OBJECTIVES IN LANGUAGE WHICH WILL PERMIT PEACEFUL BORDER CHANGES IN THE FUTURE (HAVING IN MIND, ABOVE ALL, THE POSSIBILITY OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION) AND WHICH WILL UNDERCUT THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE, AND TO ACHIEVE A MEASURE OF FREER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AS THE PRICE TO BE PAID BY THE SOVIETS FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE. THIS CONFLICT HAS LEAD TO INTRICATE PROCEDURAL MANEUVERING IN WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE RESISTED PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF INTEREST TO THE OTHER UNTIL IT SAW MORE CLEARLY WHAT IT WAS LIKELY TO GET IN ITS OWN AREA OF CONCERN. THE RESULT, NOT SURPRISINGLY, HAS BEEN A KIND OF STALEMATE IN WHICH REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN TACTITLY DEFERRED FOR THE DRAFTING STAGE.

3. KEY ISSUES. THE OVERRIDING ISSUE BOILS DOWN VERY SIMPLY--HOW FAR WILL MOSCOW GO IN OFFERING CONCESSIONS IN THE AREA OF FREER COMMUNICATION? NO OTHER ISSUE APPEARS LIKELY TO PROVE UNMANAGEABLY TROUBLESOME. AGREEMENT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE ON SECURITY PRINCIPLES ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES AND MUCH OF THE PRESENT FRENCH DRAFT MAY WELL EMERGE AS THE BASIS FOR FINAL AGREEMENT. THE SWISS PROPOSAL FOR A NEW INSTITUTION FOR COMPULSORY SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES SHOULD DIE A QUIET DEATH, ALTHOUGH THERE MAY BE A FACE-CONFIDENTIAL

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SAVING MANDATE TO PURSUE THE IDEA IN THE FUTURE. THE AREA OF INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL, SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT COOPERATION HAS PROVEN RELATIVELY FREE OF CONTROVERSY. AGREEMENT OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S) MAY PROVE QUITE TROUBLESOME--PARTICULARLY FOR US IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT OUR APPROACH IS MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN OUR ALLIES' (A SUBJECT WHICH WILL BE DEVELOPED IN ONE OF OUR SUBSEQUENT MESSAGES)--BUT NO ONE EXPECTS THE CONFERENCE TO FOUNDER

ON THIS ISSUE AND AN AGREEMENT CLOSE TO THE MINIMAL POSITION SHARED BY THE SOVIETS AND THE U.S. MAY WELL BE THE END RESULT. BUT THE OUTLOOK IS LESS CLEAR WITH RESPECT TO THE HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION AREA WHERE THE SOVIETS HAVE THUS FAR REFUSED--FOR NEGOTIATING REASONS THAT ARE UNDERSTANDABLE--TO SHOW THEIR HAND. THEIR POSTURE HAS BEEN TO WORK FOR AN "UMBRELLA" OF PRINCIPLES TO GOVERN THE HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION AGREEMENTS, PRINCIPLES OR CAVEATS WHICH THE WEST FEARS WILL ROB THE SPECIFIC AGREEMENTS OF VITALITY. THE SOVIETS PROMISE US IN THE CORRIDORS, HOWEVER, THAT WE WILL BE PLEASANTLY SURPRISED AT HOW FAR THEY WILL GO IN THIS AREA ONCE THEIR CONCERNS FOR AN "UMBRELLA" ARE MET, BUT WE ARE UNLIKELY TO KNOW UNTIL LATE IN THE DRAFTING STAGE WHAT THE SOVIETS FEEL ABLE TO CONCEDE. WHILE NO ONE EXPECTS RADICAL CONCESSIONS, MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES WILL PRESS HARD FOR MODEST PROGRESS WHICH CAN JUSTIFY CSCE TO THEIR RESPECTIVE PUBLIC OPINIONS.

4. FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY. A SECOND MAJOR ISSUE WILL BE THE DECISION WHETHER TO AGREE UPON INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS TO FOLLOW UP THE PRESENT CONFERENCE. THE NATO COUNTRIES WERE ORIGINALLY NEGATIVE ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY, CERTAINLY ABOUT ANY MECHANISM WITH POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES, AND MANY OF THEM UNDOUBTEDLY STILL ARE BUT THERE ARE NEVERTHELESS SIGNS THAT THIS POSITION IS ERODING. THE NINE'S RECENT STRATEGY PAPER ADMITS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL FOLLOW-ON ARRANGEMENTS IN THE EVENT THAT CSCE PROVIDES SUFFICIENTLY POSITIVE RESULTS, AND SCHEEL'S IDEA THAT THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE COULD BE PROVIDED A LIMITED MANDATE TO CARRY ON FOR A THREE-YEAR TRIAL PERIOD WITHOUT A SECRETARIAT DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE FALLEN ON ENTIRELY DEAF EARS AT THE EC-9 MINISTERIAL. INDEED THE NINE MAY SEE IN FOLLOW-ON MACHINERY STILL ANOTHER FORUM IN WHICH

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TO EXERT THEIR DEVELOPING POLITICAL SOLIDARITY. AS SOME OF THE NEUTRALS AND ROMANIANS ARE ALSO IN FAVOR OF SOME SUCH ARRANGEMENTS, THE PRESSURES IN THIS DIRECTION ARE LIKELY TO BECOME STRONG BEFORE WE ARE THROUGH. BUT EVEN IF POLITICAL FOLLOW-ON SHOULD BE RESISTED, WE BELIEVE THAT A WIDE RANGE OF "TECHNICAL" FOLLOW-ON ACTIVITY IS BECOMING VIRTUALLY INEVITABLE AND THAT SOME FORUM FOR THE COORDINATION OF THESE ACTIVITIES MAY BE SEEN AS A PRACTICAL NECESSITY.

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AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

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5. EC-9 AS A POLITICAL FORCE. ONE OF THE BY-PRODUCTS OF CSCE, WHICH MAY WELL BE AS SIGNIFICANT AS THE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE ITSELF, HAS BEEN THE ACCELERATED EMERGENCE OF A SEPARATE POLITICAL IDENTITY FOR THE EC-9. THIS EDENTITY TOOK SHAPE AT THE M.P.T. IN HELSINKI AND HAS GROWN STEADILY IN GENEVA, GENERALLY BUT NOT ALWAYS TO THE LARGER WESTERN BENEFIT. AFTER INITIAL OBJECTIONS, COMMON MARKET COMMISSION REPRESENTATIVES HAVE SPOKEN ON BEHALF OF THE NINE IN MEETINGS ON COMMERICAL MATTERS AND THE NINE REGARDED EASTERN ACQUIESCENCE IN THEIR RIGHT TO HAVE ONE REPRESENTATIVE SPEAK FOR THEM AS A GROU GP AS AN IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT. THE NATO HEADS OF DELEGATION WEEKLY CAUCUS IS NORMALLY PRECEDED BY THE WEEKLY EC CAUCUS, AND THIS PROCEDURE IS DUPLICATED AT THE COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE LEVELS. THE POSITIONS HAMMERED OUT BEFOREHAND IN THE EC-9

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CAUCUSES ARE, OF COURSE, ASSERTED IN THE NATO CAUCUSES AND GENERALLY ACCEPTED THERE. AS THERE IS AN UNDERLYING IDENTITY OF VIEWS ABOUT THE ISSUES BETWEEN THE EC-9 AND THE OTHER SEVEN OF THE NATO GROUP, THIS TWO-TIERED APPROACH HAS WORKED WITHOUT UNDUE FRICTION. ONE EXCEPTION IS IN THE ECONOMIC AREA OF BASKET II WHERE THE NINE FEELS THE

PRIMACY OF THE EC IDENTITY ESPECIALLY KEENLY, AND COORDINATION WITH THEIR NATO COLLEAGUES HAS NOT ALWAYS BEEN SATISFACTORY AS A RESULT. NEVERTHELESS, FOR GOOD OR ILL, THE NINE POLITICAL COHESIVENESS HAS BECOME A STRONG FACT OF LIFE AT CSCE AND UNDOUBTEDLY HAS FORESHADOWED A TREND WHICH IS BEING AND WILL BE INCREASINGLY FELT OUTSIDE CSCE.

6. IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POSITION. THE STRONG NEW ROLE ASSUMED BY EC-9 HAS FIT WELL WITH OUR OWN MODEST POSTURE. WITH THE NINE TAKING THE LEAD, WE HAVE GENERALLY FOLLOWED RATHER THAN TRIED TO FORMULATE THE WESTERN CONSENSUS. THIS HAS NOT BEEN DIFFICULT AS OUR OWN NATURAL POSITIONS ARE ALMOST ALWAYS TO BE FOUND COMFORTABLY WITHIN THE PARAMETERS SET BY THE MORE AGGRESSIVE NATO PARTICIPANTS AT THE CSCE, ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE MORE CONCILIATORY, ON THE OTHER. THIS IS ALSO TRUE IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF THE CONFERENCE AS A WHOLE; AS A GENERAL RULE IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO LIVE--WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF THE CBM'S, AS MENTIONED ABOVE--WITH THOSE POSITIONS WHICH PROVE MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND TO OUR ALLIES.

7. CONCLUSIONS. ONE YEAR AFTER THE OPENING OF PREPARATORY TALKS IN HELSINKI, AND THREE MONTHS AFTER THE BEGINNING OF PHASE II, CSCE HAS ACQUIRED A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN, THE SUM OF THE DIVERSE POLITICAL INVESTMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE IN IT. THIS MOMENTUM LOOKS AT THE MOMENT STRONG ENOUGH TO CARRY THROUGH TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF PHASE TWO BY LATE SPRING--ALTHOUGH MORE PESSIMISTIC OPINIONS ARE STILL BEING HEARD--AND TO YIELD RESULTS WHICH ARE BOTH MODEST ENOUGH TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND PROMISING ENOUGH TO SATISFY THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS IF NOT ENTIRELY THEIR PUBLIC OPINIONS. BUT THIS STILL DEPENDS, IT SHOULD

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BE EMPHASIZED, ON AN ASSUMPTION OF SOVIET READINESS TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS IN THE FIELD OF HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION THAT HAS NOT YET BEEN PROVEN. BASSIN

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